The Work and Culture of Prison Officers

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Thanks to my children, who lost me in the late evenings, without complaint, mostly?

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Preface

This thesis contains ethnographical research, explained by Jones (2006:326) as "research involving direct contact with relevant people and places". While I am aware as an ex- custodial officer of the difficulties of researching one's own profession, my perceptions of the issues raised in this study are unique to my experiences. The interpretation of the literature will also be influenced by my subsequent academic studies and further work with victims of family violence and as a probation officer.
I have trained and worked in New South Wales and Tasmanian prisons, and also experienced training as a recruit in a unit under the administration of the Australian Federal Police. The literature used to present the training aspects of this thesis, is information I know to be valid. I am unable to disclose details of training in New South Wales that has not already been made public, due to a document signed to this effect. Despite never having been required to give any such undertaking in Tasmania, I believe it would be equally unethical to make any such disclosures.

While at the Bush Farm Corrective Services Academy in Sydney, NSW, I sought information on my new career, preferably written from the 'coalface', without success. This thesis is inspired by that experience, despite there being more literature available now, some of which has been used here.

This is not written for the academic, the audience here is one who is seeking information. That is, basic, solid, factual information, for one who has no knowledge of this subject. There are areas within that will raise the possibility for further research, at another time.

Abstract

This thesis seeks to provide an understanding of the contemporary role of the custodial officer, and contains information from the 'front line' supported ethnographically and through literature. By examining their perspectives of the prison, the relationships within it, and their place in the justice system, we will see that they are a group of workers of whom the community and their own administration, expects a great deal. Having completed academic studies and worked as a practitioner, I would argue that there is a division between the two. What is researched and written is not necessarily what is. It has been challenging to find literature that truly reflects

Included is the significance of practical and therapeutic aspects of recruitment and training, and the formation the 'human service' model of operation in recent times. Also of importance are the ethical and moral dilemmas that have the potential to destroy careers and even result in criminal convictions.

The working environment and its relationship to the successful performance of custodial staff is also significant, and will be discussed through the relationships they have with inmates, administrators and other workers.

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Introduction

The idea that without the support of the 'people' involved, little progress can be made in any area of contemporary society is also relevant within the criminal justice system and in particular the prison. Concepts such as rehabilitation, reintegration, integrated offender management and throughcare are either established or becoming established in most states. Successful implementation of these reforms requires collaboration and cooperation, particularly from workers directly involved with offenders and inmates.

There is an abundance of literature on the prison, including the affects of incarceration on inmates, their experiences and culture. It is more difficult, however, to find research from the custodial officer's perspective, as they have received far less attention with many studies not recognising the officer as a player within the prison at all.
King, 2006:27) cites (Ross1981:1) as follows:

> "It is remarkable that so little study of the correction officer has been made when one considers how often, and how eloquently, eminent spokesmen on corrections have acknowledged the critical importance of the guard in the functioning of correctional institutions. For example Sykes (1958) referred to the guard as the "pivotal figure on which custodial bureaucracy turns".

This thesis will seek to explore the complex role of the custodial officer and their status as players in the success of prison reform, as without their support, access to inmates for rehabilitative intervention, can be severely hampered. Howels (2000) describes custodial officers as "a rehabilitative agent, as well as a custodian", a definition that portrays a dualistic and contradictory role.

They have the added responsibility of case managing inmates and are relied upon to support the rehabilitative goals of administrators. In addition, as Howels (2000) recognises, there is the existence of "strain" between custodial staff and staff in human service roles. This will be further addressed later in this thesis.

To assist officers in fulfilling their responsibilities, there is a set of informally communicated, unwritten rules and values that protect them physically, emotionally and psychologically from the negative effects of their jobs. This 'sub culture' increases in strength as the classification of the prison increases, leaving little or no evidence of its existence in the routines of minimum security. Whether or not an officer is in agreement or not, with the influence of this culture over his or her daily work routines, it is impossible to dismiss or ignore, as to do so, is to alienate oneself from colleagues, which has the potential to introduce an unwelcome alignment with inmates.

Another important aspect to consider is the training officers receive to provide them with the skills to successfully fulfil their role. It is not valid to compare New South Wales and Tasmania, two very different jurisdictions, however, the goals and desired outcomes of both training regimes were from my point of view, very similar. While New South Wales is described as the largest jurisdiction in Australia, Tasmania is described by O'Toole (2002) as being a jurisdiction that "pursues a policy of adopting appropriate technology and best practice". Tasmania has further developed since this time by adopting innovations such as case management and Integrated Offender Management.

Tasmania could fairly be described as an emerging jurisdiction, currently in the process of experiencing great change both in policy and environment. With this in mind, it is not unreasonable to expect that the training of officers should not differ greatly between jurisdictions with similar visions for the future management of their prisons.

I joined my colleagues in their uneasiness about individuals entering the prison who were not inmates or officers. There is a culture of distrust of administrators, management and 'do gooders'. Visitors of inmates are referred to by some officers as 'crims who haven't been caught yet' and widely believed to be responsible for trafficking the contraband found in cells.

The perception of officers as inflexible, unsupportive and anti reform is unremarkable, however it is more likely that they are simply individuals performing a complex and demanding role, one that is constantly changing and riddled with contradiction and

dualism. The officer has responsibilities that go beyond those of any other member of society, to successfully work with them, one needs to take the time to understand their role and respect it. For administrators, dealing with custodial staff is difficult. While presenting their reforms in a manner that values opinions and discussion, they may still be eyed with suspicion. The importance of having the cooperation of staff is accepted and understood, however, to the officer the old adage 'actions speak louder than words' is more to the point. The actions of administrators are closely scrutinised by officers, who are keenly aware of manipulative practices, a skill provided by their own training.

Watching the dynamics of the inmates in a yard will reveal a wealth of information to the experienced officer. As observers of human nature it is not surprising, that officers know when they are being ignored, taken for granted or devalued, and if this is so, will be no more tolerant of it than any other employee, in any other workplace. Officers are particularly sensitive to the devaluing of their role, and this is a major obstacle in eliciting their support for reforms. Tales of changes that have been introduced by administrators only to be thwarted or made unworkable by officers are common. These will be told for years, as if they happened only yesterday, like a folk tale passed on down the generations gathering additions as they go. Used to support the culture of solidarity to new officers and re-enforce the need to 'stick together', they promote the idea of 'them and us' and that 'no one understands what we do or what we put up with to do this job'.

Another primary concern for officers, is risk and safety, upsetting this balance gives the impression that inmate wants or needs come before the personal safety of custodial and non custodial staff. Complaints from trainers, who are primarily custodial officers themselves, that new officers conform to the culture of the prison very soon after being exposed to it, demonstrates the strength of the established culture of the prison. Their attempts to encourage change through education, fails to disempower the old guard and void their influence over new recruits. Does this happen because the existing culture of the prison is stronger than the training, or after investigation, do recruits perceive it to be a more practical and safer way of performing their duties that others do not understand?

This strong influence that older officers have over new recruits will be explored later in this study.

Not all reforms are perceived negatively by officers, in my experience they are largely supporters of programs in the prison environment. Inmate boredom continues to be a major issue particularly for officers in Tasmania, where programs are just starting to become more readily available. Program participation makes the officer's job a lot easier, either through the absence of the inmate from the wing, or his or her improvement in behaviour. This is especially noticeable with inmates on the Violence Prevention Program or Anger Management where participation by inmates can rightly be perceived by officers as decreasing their risk of assault. In some prisons the classification of inmates can cause problems for programs, as segregation and non-association makes escorts to and from programs difficult and time consuming. Bearing this in mind, there are also times where escort routines can be used to unofficially punish particular inmates who may find there are no officers available for escort until the program is almost over.

Methods

This thesis is written in Tasmania but in a broader context, as the central issues discussed here would be familiar to most custodial officers, particularly those working in maximum security male institutions. It was originally intended to formally interview custodial officers, however the difficulties in gaining access, and time restrictions contributed to the decision to conduct ethnographical research supported by literature in this instance.

Such interviews would have been a valuable contribution this thesis, however, the literature included here, does interview officers and supports observations and knowledge gained ethnographically. It is acknowledged that variations occur between jurisdictions and prisons, officers will be exposed to different areas of the prison, required to perform variations on their duties and find their own experiences to be entirely dissimilar to mine.

The focus on training in various jurisdictions is necessary to develop the profile of what characteristics recruiters seek when selecting and training officers. The time spent on each module is relevant to determine how much training and preparation recruits receive in order to perform their duties.

Expectations and Recruitment

It is not difficult to find literature on the 'prison experience' from the inmate's perspective, however, they are not the only individuals affected by the artificial environment of the prison. Burton (2007) describes the prison as a separate community complete with its own hierarchy, history, culture and structure. Within this community officers perform their duties as the 'primary carers' of inmates, and have a 'duty of care' to keep them healthy, prevent them from harming themselves and others, containing and rehabilitating them.

While this sounds like an interesting and challenging job, the majority of the officer's work is in fact made up of boring, repetitive and mundane tasks. A significant portion of their time is spent counting prisoners, doing body and environmental searches, escort duties, presenting inmates for medication, urinalysis testing and supervising showers and other functions. These basic day to day duties have changed little over time, other than to accommodate advances in technology such as DNA testing, urinalysis and security and containment practices.

Over time the profile of the inmate has also changed to include perpetrators of homicide or other serious offences that would have previously attracted the death penalty in the past and in some countries still does. In Australia, there has also been another type of inmate in recent times, those suspected or convicted of terrorism charges, which further complicates the prison environment by changing the inmate culture through the introduction of new religious and cultural beliefs.

This evolving prison system is discussed by Grant (2005), he observes that it includes the event of different theoretical and practical frameworks, technology, architecture and changing organisational goals. As a result, today there is a more humane and

therapeutic approach to prison management which has a direct effect on the role of the officer, to a more human service model.

One of the major contributors to this is the Scandinavian model of unit management, which has been adopted in many Australian prisons, and has embedded the concept of dynamic security. King (2001) states, "unit management also seeks to break down some of the dehumanising effects of institutionalisation by associating officers and prisoners on a regular basis and creating an environment where prisoners are 'people'".

To accommodate this, the work of officers has been further developed by the use of competency based training which claims to transform them into case workers. This will enable officers to manage individual inmates and ensure their access to programs and other services. Officers are also therapeutic agents working in special units which address causes of offending behaviour, for example drug and alcohol abuse and inmates with mental health issues. Unit managers themselves are custodial officers, whose role includes ensuring groups of inmates are involved in programs, have their own case officer, are supported by specialists if needed and have equal access to visits, telephones, and other services.

The expectations of recruiters in relation to appropriate candidates for the new human service custodial officers can be obtained by studying the criteria and essential requirements sought throughout the recruitment process. Officers have now become part of a professional stream of case managers and rehabilitators, while still being required to perform their traditional duties. They receive a relatively small amount of training in order to perform their increasingly complex role, and are accountable for their actions and decisions, which are constantly under scrutiny by those possessing the benefit of hindsight.

These newly trained human service officers continue to work alongside officers who are attracted to the more traditional role. Recruited prior to the changes in their position descriptions, these officers may find the job changing beyond both their capabilities and core beliefs.

These officers, sometimes nicknamed 'dinosaurs' have either openly or subliminally objected to their new duties, and have caused some problems for administrators, and their more progressive colleagues.

Interestingly, Cavadino et al (2002) mentions that attempts to liberalise the prison system have been frustrated by basic grade officers fearful of losing their authority and control. Calvadino's observation that this attitude exists even with base grade officers, indicates either that ex military personnel continue to be recruited or that the perception of the job as being one that provides both authority and status attracts certain personality types.

Pogrebin (2003) notes that hiring custodial officers with little or no experience is important because they would be unfamiliar with the old ways of doing things, including the corrupt practices that flourish in many prisons. This supports the move towards attracting candidates from different backgrounds and cultures, and not predominantly those from military or policing backgrounds. The following information has been obtained from states and territories in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, and will assist in providing a profile of the individual sought by recruiters to perform the new and varied role in contemporary corrections.

Jurisdictions

Canada

The selection processes consist of assessing the candidate against the values of respect, the desire to learn and change their integrity, results orientation and teamwork. Part of the process includes an evaluation of the candidate's knowledge of the Criminal Justice System, criminal behaviour and intervention techniques, correctional operations and case management. The primary focus on values is considered critical, the interaction between employee attitudes and organisational philosophy is fundamental to organisational functioning and work outcomes. In addition they are assessed on written and oral communications skills, analytical, motivational and organisation skills. Canada also recognises the need to increase the cultural and ethnic diversity of officers, to enhance the quality of staff-inmate relationships.

This jurisdiction also acknowledges the demographic profile of the 'new' recruits differed significantly from the profiles of the 'old' recruits in three important areas, namely, race, gender and education. These recruits will have a learning experience together in which they will be confined in the same place for the first eleven weeks of their training. (Correctional Services Canada, 2007)

United Kingdom

In addition to custodial duties prison officers are called upon to build and maintain close relationships with inmates. The challenge of balancing authority with understanding and compassion is emphasised. As well as the generic duties of maintaining security and searching, officers are expected to take care of prisoners and their property, and consider their rights and dignity.

Officers are expected to providing appropriate care and support for prisoners at risk of self harm or suicide, and take an active part in rehabilitation programs for prisoners. There must also be an ability to assess and advise prisoners by using one's own experiences and integrity.

All new prison officers must complete an 11-week training course at the beginning of an appointment. The course aims to equip recruits with the necessary knowledge, skills and values needed to become a confident, safe and accountable prison officer. The Prison Service requires staff to demonstrate this by achieving the Custodial Care NVQ Level 3. From 1st September 2007 all newly recruited prison officers will be required to complete CCNVQ within 12 months of starting their employment as a prison officer. This will give recruits the satisfaction of achieving a formal qualification as well as increasing their confidence to carry out their role effectively. (HM Prison Service, 2007)

Victoria

Prison officers are required to conduct monthly individual management plan meetings with prisoners. They are to provide positive role models to prisoners and encourage and motivate them to address their offending behaviour.

The eligibility requirements are, good communication skills, being mature and reliable and having the ability to remain calm in stressful situations. They should have high standards of personal integrity, possess appropriate work or life experience and have considerable supervisory skills.

Candidates will attend an assessment centre where they will be medically and psychometrically tested, and be subject to a criminal history check. Newly recruited Prison Officers receive approximately seven weeks pre-service training in Corrections Victoria prisons. Whilst undertaking pre-service training they are employed and paid by Corrections Victoria. This is followed by a period of close supervision and intermittent training to enable new employees to assimilate their skills in a graduated way.

Typically, as new employees acquire more complex skills and training, they are given more demanding positions. It is expected that new employees will continue acquiring competencies and achieve a Certificate III in Correctional Practice (Custodial Corrections) within a 12 to 24 month period. (Department of Justice, Victoria 2007)

Western Australia

Working in a prison is about care, control, openness and limits, but mostly it is about being a fellow human being, understanding situations, finding solutions and providing the necessary conditions to enable the prisoner to take responsibility for his or her own life. This work requires a professional approach and it is desirable that candidates are recruited from a variety of backgrounds. There is a need for the promotion and maintenance of good relationships with prisoners, by balancing authority with understanding and empathy.

Candidates are assessed through the use of psychological testing, and will be interviewed by departmental psychologists. They will undertake a literacy test, selection panel interview and a fitness and medical assessment. In addition they will also be subject to a criminal history screen and integrity check. Training consists of an eleven week training program followed by a six month on the job probationary period.

(WA Corrective Services, 2007)

Queensland

Attributes necessary for success as a custodial officer includes the ability to communicate effectively and achieve results, think creatively and solve problems effectively. They will also be required to demonstrate personal drive and integrity and achieve results. Officers also need to communicate effectively both verbally and in writing, and work productively with others by maintaining internal and external relationships and working cooperatively.

Core accountabilities are, respect for the law and the system of government, respect for persons, integrity, diligence, economy and efficiency. A video is available for viewing of a correctional officer on the job at the Lotus Glen Correctional Centre.
(Queensland Corrective Services, 2007)

Tasmania

Working in a prison environment requires personal integrity, sound ethical conduct, a mature approach, confidence and interpersonal skills. Also desirable is life experience, good people management and communication skills. Assessment consists of a written application, written assessment, selection exercises, physical test, medical test, and police record check.

All recruits to the Tasmanian Prison Service complete an induction training program of approximately eight and a half weeks prior to being placed on operational duty. At the end of the induction program each recruit is given a workplace validation booklet which enables them to continue their learning 'on the job'. Once the booklet is complete each recruit is assessed against the performance criteria for Certificate Three (3) in Correctional Practice (Custodial). The learning activities which form the basis of the recruit induction program and the tasks and duties performed by Custodial Officers are linked to the performance criteria of relevant Units of Competency from the Correctional Training Package.

(Department of Justice, Tasmania, 2007)

New South Wales

Correctional Officers are considered to be active participants in the Department's management of inmates, working closely with other staff in the organisation, including health workers, probation and parole officers and those who oversee inmates working in the Department's industries.

Correctional officers play an important and active role in the case management team and will take on a case load and report regularly on the progress of individual inmates. Correctional Officers must have:

- integrity,
- courage,
- commitment,
- good communication skills,
- be non-judgmental
- able to apply rules and regulations fairly and consistently, and
- Deal effectively with people in all types of situations.
- Be fit and healthy.

Officers will initially graduate with a Certificate III in Correctional Practice, but may elect to undertake further study. Ongoing training and development is provided and encouraged. Applicants are expected to undergo a general ability test, psychological profiling, panel interview, medical assessment, criminal record check, referee and conduct and services check. NSW Department of Corrective Services, (2007)

These jurisdictions all quote the desirable quality of integrity and the importance of developing and maintaining an appropriate relationship with inmates. Also of interest is the confinement of recruits and the possibility of compulsory 'live in' arrangements. This would be a suitable arrangement for smaller jurisdictions who were interested in developing further strategies to 'bond' recruits and intensify their training.

Education and Training

Those who deliver the training varies between jurisdictions. In the early 2000's in NSW the trainers consisted of high ranking officers who had completed the vocational training courses necessary to become instructors. This was similar in Tasmania, however, with the addition of experts for example, staff from Community Corrections, Victims Assistance Unit, Forensic Mental Health Services and Drug and Alcohol Services. The addition of trainers who are experts in their field is without question desirable, however there are signs that even in the early stages of training, non uniformed instructors are less heeded than their uniformed counterparts.

It is clear from the information provided by recruiters that there are some overlaps across jurisdictions for those characteristics considered to be the most desirable for the work of custodial officer. The individual sought is diverse and multi skilled, and require to posses physical, psychological and emotional fitness. There is a high expectation placed on today's custodial officers, as discussed previously the majority of the job is boring and mundane, yet the individuals desired need to be capable of fulfilling the professional and sometimes therapeutic role.

Finding an individual who is both capable and willing to fulfil both of these facets of the work, is certainly a challenge for recruiters. O'Toole (2000) identified the link between enhanced officer training and the reform of the prison, and recruit courses have changed to incorporate the new competencies required for the duties associated with case management. Hill (2007) reviewed over one hundred training programs conducted in individual institutions, training academies and educational institutions around the world. He found 'an almost universally agreed upon set of the basic and minimum information people working in a prison should have included in their initial training'. The hours spent on each module is considered to be the minimum necessary to cover the subject. These modules are summarised as follows:

Orientation, which includes an overview of the state or jurisdictions criminal justice and overview of the general duties and expected behaviour of officers and recommends a minimum of 2 hours to complete.

Overview of the prison system covers the purpose of the prison and the legal status of prisoners and detainees. This module will also cover the different classifications of inmates including those housed at other prisons in the jurisdiction and overview of these prisons. Minimum time on this module is 2 hours.

Who is in our prisons and why? Information on the race, sex, age, offence and average term of inmates in the jurisdiction. Discussions around identifying false stereotypes and prejudices concerning inmates in general.

Also some discussion on the causes of crime, particularly violent crime. Minimum time on this module is 2 hours.

International standards and norms, which includes inmate rights and staff responsibilities, including those governed by the United Nations and other appropriate bodies.

Prison policies and procedures identify the authority under which the prison system operates including an overview of the policies. This module includes group discussions and exercises, and the minimum time allocated is 6 hours.

Cross cultural awareness, this module supplies participants with the knowledge and skills necessary to effectively supervise the culturally diverse inmate population that is represented in most jurisdictions around the world. Minimum time allocated is 2 hours.

Inmate discipline provides an introduction to the discipline process of the particular jurisdiction including processes and sanctions. Minimum time allocated is 2 hours.

Inmates and the prison environment, this supplies a brief discussion on the impact of prison confinement on both inmates and staff, including the subtle manipulations and 'games' that some inmates play. This also includes criminal activity within the prison and the various stages inmates go through from reception to release. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

Violence in prison relates to the controls available to manage violent disturbances or riots. This is done by analysing previous incidents, and includes a discussion on the reasons for these disturbances. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

A brief overview of prisons and treatment philosophies looks at the history of prisons, and how they have developed into the current mode of operation, also includes rehabilitation concepts. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

Hostage survival provides recruits with information on the institutional response to these situations, emergency planning and emotional and mental preparedness. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

Fire Safety, emergency response, time allocated is 1 hour.

Supervision of inmates looks at the techniques required for the effective supervision of inmates, no indication of time allocated for this module.

These modules represent the first weeks training, it is noticeable that more time is spent on the practical aspects of officer training or those concerned with personal safety and security and containment. These modules can be separated into two sections, theoretical / therapeutic and practical knowledge as follows:

Theoretical/Therapeutic Aspects of Training	**Time Allocated**	**Practical, Safety Aspects of Training**	**Time Allocated**
Orientation	2 Hours	Policies and Procedures	6 Hours
Overview	2 Hours	Inmate discipline	3 Hours
Who is in the prisons	2 Hours	Inmates/Prison Environment	4 Hours
Standards	2 Hours	Violence in prison	4 Hours
Cross Cultural Awareness	2 Hours	Hostage Survival	2 Hours
Treatment and	4 Hours	Fire Safety	1 Hour
Total	14 Hours		20 Hours

This table shows the practical aspects of the training, outweighs theoretical/therapeutic skills training by 6 hours.

The following two weeks, as outlined by Hill (2007) looks at managing the problems that may occur in the prison setting, as follows:

Introduction to searching, this module covers the practical aspects of body and environmental searches for the purposes of locating contraband or weapons. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

Drug awareness provides an introduction to the drugs commonly used in prisons and includes identification, effects and the methods of administration by inmates. Also includes staff safety in relation to needle stick injuries, handling and disposal of implements used. Time allocated is 4 hours.

Suicide prevention seeks to help recruits identify the warning signs exhibited by those contemplating suicide and their role in relation to 'duty of care'. Minimum time allocated is 1 hour.

Sizing up the situation, relates to avoiding costly mistakes and maximises the decision making process to ensure they are accurate and effective. Minimum time allocated is 2 hours.

Communicating with inmates provides the skills to help staff open up to communication with inmates. Minimum time allocated is 2 hours.

Controlling inmate behaviour, or the need to effectively deal with inmate behaviour on an ongoing basis, requires good management and communication skills. Minimum time allocated is 2 hours.

First Aid and health promotion, supplies the recruit with the ability to administer first aid, and develop an awareness for the promotion of general health and sanitary conditions in the facility. Minimum time allocated is 8 hours.

Non-violent crisis intervention provides recruits with a recognition of the stages of crisis development in individuals and provides non violent defence techniques and controls. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

Personal protection techniques introduces principles of personal protection and defensive techniques. This includes the application of practical control techniques. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

Key and tool control, is the secure use of keys and tools and includes basis instruction on the acquisition and control of these devices. Minimum time allocated is 4 hours.

Inmate counts, is an important security measure and this module instructs recruits in developing good observations skills and the procedures for conducting musters. Minimum time allocated is 1 hour.

Report writing, covers the administrative and legal requirements of providing accurate reports within the facility. Minimum time allocated is 2 hours.

Stress Management, teaches recruits stress management techniques, and allows time for practice. Minimum time allocated is 2 hours.

These week two modules are again represented in the following table:

Theoretical/Therapeutic, Aspects of Training	**Time Allocated**	**Practical, Safety Aspects of Training**	**Time Allocated**
Drug Awareness	2 hours	Searching Techniques	4 hours
Suicide Prevention	1 hours	Controlling inmate behaviour	2 hours
Sizing up the Situation	2 hours	First Aid	8 hours
Communicating with inmates	2 hours	Personal Protection	2 hours
Non violent crisis intervention	4 hours	Key and Tool Control	4 hours
Report Writing	2 hours	Inmate Counts	1 hour
Stress Management	2 hours		
Total	15 hours		21 hours

The time spent on the practical aspects of training, outweighs the theoretical or knowledge base training by six hours.

The remaining modules represent the procedures for firearms and use of force training

and is listed in the following table. These modules are of a practical nature and do not include any therapeutic knowledge.

Security Procedures	**Time Allocated**
Use of Force	2 hours
Firearm Safety	1 hour
Introduction to Weapons	2 hours
Weapons, classroom practice	2 hours
Range Practice and Qualification	70% proficiency required 2 hours
Low Light and Night Firing	2 hours
Restraining Devices	3 hours
Escorting Prisoners	2 hours
Use of radio/telephones	2 hours
Special Security Issues	4 hours
Security Skills Practice	4 hours
Total	26 hours

This compilation of training courses provided by Hill (2007), demonstrates that training of custodial officers is still predominately security and containment related.

It is not suggested that these are not important, but that at the very least, an equal amount of time should be spent on modules directly relating to the officers 'human service role'.

Further findings from a study published by Correctional Service of Canada (2004) states that education does not seem to influence key corporate values and that the values of custodial officer recruits are open to change.

This is considered to be the primary goal of the selection process to ensure that officers who are recruited share the values promoted by the department. The idea that recruits can be 'moulded' in this way is present in the theology of many organisations including law enforcement and the military. The Australian Defence Force claims to transform civilians into military personnel through teamwork, self-discipline and 'esprit de corps'. (ADF, 2007) Intensive training programs include in them a component which promotes the values of the organisation.

While education is considered to play a significant part in the performance of recruits on the knowledge skills and abilities examinations it is not as important as the recruit's ability to support the values of the organisation. (Correctional Service of Canada, 2004). This implies that trainers are seeking to mould recruits core beliefs in a similar way to the military. Coltman (2004) further observes that "trainee officers are weaned onto the ideals of the service, with the doctrine of order and control" and that the prison emulates a 'military culture'. It is reasonable to conclude that the training of custodial officer recruits continues to focus on the paramilitary philosophies of control and containment. As a result the promotion of the 'old guard' philosophies continues to counteract the goals of reformists seeking to recruit officers to their school of thought. If this methodology of training is to continue, it would more advantageous to increase the educational level required of candidates, and as an alternative accept as O'Toole (2000) states, " the importance of employing individuals with a broader social justice outlook".

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC), (2002) identified the following shortfalls in relation to selection and recruiting of custodial staff.

- no training in the ideals of 'integrity, humanity and professional capacity'
- no education or promotion of role as 'work of social service of great importance'
- question of the effective psychological screening of recruits

- no effective monitoring of private prisons
- personnel generally do not possess adequate education levels, with most co's coming from a low socio economic background

Recruiters acknowledge the importance of integrity and ethics, and in some jurisdictions provide a written code of conduct ensuring recruits are well aware of the consequences in engaging in unethical behaviour. They do not seek to challenge the recruit's core beliefs, particularly in relation to integrity, honesty and humanity. Recruits are required to meet the education level of a year 10 pass, a low level for such a responsible and complex role. Also identified in the same study are the factors that inhibit efforts to improve the staffing arrangements in Australian Prisons.

- paramilitaristic culture of prisons
- social attitudes towards prisons
- regimental training of officers
- paramilitary approach to training results in a paramilitary culture being reproduced in the prisons
- inadequate identification of unsuitable candidates in recruitment policies
- salaries are not attractive enough to appeal to those pursuing a professional career

Strategies suggested for overcoming these factors are:

- professionalisation of prison officers training and career path
- more academic approach to work
- more supportive environment
- cognisance of the idea that conflict can be present without dispute and perhaps current models of dispute resolution are not appropriate
- training in professional boundaries, but not an 'us and them' approach
- simplify the burdensome and multi layered regime of rules and regulations
- continuous recruitment and training of indigenous prison staff
- recruit more women officers
- de-stigmatise prison work, i.e. not a valued profession
- overhaul the language of the regime

- universal competencies standards

The recruitment information provided by correctional jurisdictions shows some alignment with the issues identified above by the HREOC (2002) indicating that recruiters are aware of the need to change their processes and in some cases have done so. New South Wales Department of Corrective Services provides a booklet entitled "Code of Conduct and Ethics" which contains information relating to professional conduct towards inmates and other staff, private conduct and reporting procedures for corrupt practices.

Also of note is the lack of training in professional boundaries, identified by the HREOC, which would provide recruits with the skills required to dispel the popular 'us and them' doctrine in exchange for the ability to maintain professional relationships with other staff and inmates. How successful the revised recruit courses really are and what intentions the organisations may have for further development is not yet known. Raising the bar for recruitment also has an affect on smaller jurisdictions who may then have difficulty finding sufficient, suitable applicants.

A higher education level will assist with the professionalisation of the role, but reduce the number of suitable applicants. This will open the door to compromise, as recruiters jurisdictions are faced with the unwelcome reality of meeting their staffing needs with borderline, or inappropriate candidates. Their inability to attract staff who will support reform has the potential to simultaneously undermine any attempts to introduce change. The changing goals and values of the organisation must update the knowledge base required of recruits and current staff, to meet these goals. This is not currently being done on a level that will empower recruits with the theoretical knowledge needed to understand the goals of the justice system as a whole, and their place within it.

Coltman (2004) quotes "a high percentage of prison officers are indeed from a military background. No one asked us why we wanted to be prison officers or what we wanted to bring to the role". This is a recent observation yet it is easily interpreted as one that may have been written ten or twenty years ago, prior to the reforms of recent years.

Individuals with a military background continue to be attracted to custodial work, and assembling on parade is still practiced in some jurisdictions. While parade is an orderly and efficient method of distributing keys, it is difficult to reconcile the importance of learning to march. As Coltman (2004) states, "certainly being able to march has never helped me when confronted by an inmate firing verbal abuse, or in tears – sometimes both". While this is certainly true, marching does translate to the ability to perform during riots or other disturbances when it is necessary 'to gear up' and present a solid impassable line to repel rioters.

Under these circumstances the value of training in drill and marching can be reconciled, however it is perhaps more likely that this element of training is more in keeping with tradition than with its worth as a training module. Its value as a component of discipline, self control and teamwork, is not disputed, however there are alternative methods of promoting these ideals in recruits, who are not soldiers but custodial officers with completely different duties to perform. There is also a large amount of time allocated to drill practice, which would perhaps be better served in riot training formation.

Training needs to be about 'balance', if there is to be any hope of retaining the type of individuals who are best suited to this type of work. This includes ongoing training, and an agreement or 'contract' between the officer and the department to continue with this training, even after the acquisition of Certificate III in Correctional Practice. As a requirement of most recruits during their first 12 months of service, Cert III concentrates mostly on practical skills. Another area of concern is the length of the initial training courses. In the jurisdictions studied so far, this varies from eight to twelve weeks, which leaves a four week disparity. When considering the relatively small amount of time spent on each of the modules, and the emphasis on security and containment, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the training spent on their new 'human service' duties is still inadequate.

The cultural restraints experienced by new officers ensures that the training they have received to encourage them to become effective case managers and rehabilitators takes second place to the traditional role of security and containment. It is entirely

possible to balance both roles, given the right encouragement. However, the human service training needs to be significant and presented in a way that supports its importance alongside security and containment practices. The continued focus on paramilitary training continues to dominate at some level in all jurisdictions.

Howells (2000) stated that the organisational structure of the typical prison is paramilitary; the significance of this for officers is that it supports their attempts to control inmate behaviour and defines them as having superior status over the inmates. While it is true the uniform does have some symbolic significance for the officer, it is also practical and provides a necessary distinction between officer and inmate.

The uniform becomes an issue when the wearer uses it as a symbol of authority disallowing or excusing the individual within to empathise or engage their role as rehabilitative agent. It is also possible that without it the wearer may lack credibility with the inmates, who themselves recognise it as a symbol of authority.

Queensland has found the paramilitary style uniform is preferred by custodial officers and it replaced their corporate uniform in August 2007 after many years. All centre staff regardless of role will be dressed in the new uniform to reinforce the team approach to prisoner management. (Mullins, 2007) The removal of the uniform would be problematic and as Queensland has found, it is preferred by officers, therefore it is the duty of each officer to balance their demeanour and work practices in such a way that the uniform is not a barrier between them and their rehabilitative goals.

The final question in relation to training is concerned with the appropriate introduction of the new recruit into the prison environment. Two widely used alternatives are either at the end of training for supernumerary experience or during the first few weeks of training to desensitise the recruit to the harsh environment of the prison. The logic behind the latter is that the recruit will be more prepared and can gain experience during visits to the various areas of the prison during training. After experiencing both of these methods, I would argue that exposing untrained recruits in this manner puts them at a disadvantage. These recruits are exposed to the cynical attitude of officers and inmates, whom I have seen band together with inmates to make recruits feel as uncomfortable as possible, referring to them as 'new meat'.

The idea behind this may well be to 'toughen up' the recruits, however, these officers tend to be the ones who will continue to actively engage in belittling and undermining the training objectives of the department. This is not a comfortable position for the recruit, as he or she is fully aware that they will be required to work with these officers on a daily basis, and to be ostracised at such an early stage, will make success in their role unlikely. Additionally, they may not yet have the fully support of their classmates, as they are in the early stages of their training, and yet to bond. This will result in alignments with officers in the prison, and early exposure to negative cultural norms.

The alternative, to introduce a fully trained officer for supernumerary training, at the end of their recruit course, is to release an individual who has been provided with the necessary information and skills to be successful in their work. These officers have had the opportunity to think about their own set of values and translate them into the type of officer they want to be. It is therefore important to protect recruits from the negative and menacing activities of some officers and inmates until they are ready to cope with them.

These recruits are more likely to weigh up their training with any new information they receive and make their own informed decisions in relation to their conduct, relationships with inmates, other staff and administrators. They are also in the position of being able to converge on the prison en-mass, providing support for each other and becoming agents of change. This is especially advantageous in smaller jurisdictions as it is less likely that the group with be split and sent to other prisons.

Change vs Culture

Risk assessment and case management planning is now almost universally in place as a structured tool for use in managing offenders. Major reforms in contemporary prison management have made changes in the traditional role of custodial officer inevitable. Historically the officer had complete control over those they supervised, with little accountability to management and even less to 'outsiders'. The introduction of unit management has changed this by removing autonomy from officers and making them more accountable for their actions.

Unit management also involves custodial staff in creating an interactive environment where prisoners are encouraged to talk with officers, and engage in case management. King (2000) describes unit management has having the intent to break down some of the dehumanising effects of institutionalisation by associating officers and prisoners on a regular basis and creating environments in which prisoners were known as people. The skills of female officers have also come to be recognised in the area of de-escalation of conflict and the development of working relationships.

Richards (1999) identifies further changes such as an increase of staff in the welfare and program areas, an expansion of education and training opportunities, more liberal visiting arrangements and encouragement of non government organisations (NGO's) to provide services. These changes impact on the daily routines of the prison in a way that is not favoured by officers. Increasing staff in programs and welfare allows more un-uniformed and unknown staff through the main gate, which is a security risk and leads to escorts increasing within the prison to deliver inmates to their programs. For officers this means more body and environmental searches and an increase in administration work in the form of movement passes and monitoring of inmates to exclude them from muster books and state boards. There is also the issue of safety for staff and inmates involved in the program. More liberal visiting arrangements means more visits for inmates with less supervision, another security issue and a heightened potential for trafficking contraband. This again involves more environmental searches, searches of visitors, and inmates. The potential for drugs or other contraband coming into the prison is heightened and this directly affects the safety of officers.

The activity of non government organisations (NGO's) also means an increase in 'do gooders' entering the prison, and impacts on the 'old guard' belief that inmates are undeserving of services. White (2007) comments on 'security vs services', as "old ideas become challenged which causes stress and conflict". New reforms cause great dissention among officers, who are no longer as likeminded as they once were. The old guard constantly conflicts with the values and ideals of the new contemporary officer,

this can be particularly problematic as many of these older officers have been around longer, and may have higher rank or longer service, both of which invoke respect within the culture. As a result individual officers can be branded as 'crim lovers' for supporting inmate's access to services, conceivably the worse label a custodial officer could be granted.

Another change sweeping the prisons is the increasing number of female officers, possibly attracted by the changing role of officers to a human service model. However, King (2000) notes that despite the attractiveness of the role for women, there are some aspects of the job that have not fully developed from the paramilitary model. This is challenging for women, as they perform the same duties as men, and therefore need the same physical and operational training. Despite the physical demands of the role, it is reasonable to suggest, that for women, achieving the balance between paramilitary and human service role, is less difficult than it is for their male colleagues. Jones (2001) supports this view by identifying women as having a "tendency to the rehabilitative model rather than the just desserts model".

The skills of women have become increasingly coveted in a corrections model that is endeavouring to move away from the paramilitary style of prison management. Jones (2001) also identifies further values of female custodial officers, when discussing the issues relating to ethical conduct, stating, "women are more likely to take stands", he mentions 'feminine morality', and the "female tolerance for wrong doing being lower than males". The notion that it is more difficult for women to turn a 'blind eye' to corrupt practices, is supported anecdotally, and is an issue for further study. This is one of the many number of issues women face in addition to those of their male colleagues.

At some stage early in their careers all officers find their place in the prison by deciding what type of officer they want to be, sometimes by finding a mentor or someone whose work practices they admire. Women may do this in several ways, some develop a hard exterior, others choose to limit themselves to working in female prisons, and still others develop a camaraderie with their fellow male officers whereby they are received as 'one of the boys'.

The character of the individual plays a large part in determining which of these representations the officer chooses and for some, there is the struggle to retain their femininity. For those women who have managed to maintain a 'balance' between being an officer and a female, it may have been necessary to achieve this at the expense of inmates. To establish their credibility as officers, women have to display a 'toughness' in their dealings with inmates, this demonstrates to their male colleagues that they are not soft and have what is takes to do the job. Culturally it is important to have an appropriate relationship with inmates, one that both ensures they are not perceived as a 'soft option' and that there are never even the slightest implications of sexual misconduct. For women this is the most perilous part of working in a male prison and like minded male officers, who also favour the human service principles of the work, are those who women will often align themselves with. For women, wearing all these different 'hats' can be quite exhausting, which is why many women choose to confine themselves to working in female prisons or adopt a more 'black and white' approach to their work having as little to do with inmates as possible.

For the female officer who becomes 'one of the boys', there is the risk of alienation from her female colleagues and implications of sexual impropriety this time with male officers. This has been experienced by women in other workplaces, when promotion or advancement is in order, but can be particularly damaging in the prison environment.

Officer Culture

Bowker (1977) provides a definition that describes inmate culture as "a psychological pressure cooker from which there is little chance of escape except through psychological withdrawal". It is a rigid system of social stratification permitting little vertical mobility, nearly all social relationships have an authoritarian quality. Equality between peers is threatening to prisoners, so peer situations are usually resolved into relationships in which one man is subordinate to the other. The possession and use of coercive power is the central value of the prisoner social system".

The culture of the prison is often referred to in literature as pertaining to inmates, its relevance to this thesis lies only with the similarities it has with the culture of officers.

Jones (2001), supplies a definition of the officer subculture as a "code of behaviour governed by a set of beliefs and attitudes". These beliefs play a large part in predetermining what or who will 'survive' in the prison, a state that is entirely compatible to the culture of inmates. Understanding this subculture helps us gain an understanding of what makes the custodial officer 'tick', and what governs their decision making processes and general conduct at work. Bowkers (1977) observation that the only escape is through 'psychological withdrawal', is entirely practicable for officers, encouraging them to become an 'island' and alienating them from colleagues. This situation has the potential to expose the 'lone officer' to the possibility of corruption, through an alternative illegitimate alignment with inmates. It is for this reason that displays of camaraderie between officers in front of inmates are encouraged by progressive senior staff.

Inmates will quickly identify officers they can see to be on the outer and exploit this by manipulating the officer into an unhealthy relationship with an inmate or a group of inmates. It is also interesting to note that even those officers alienated from the group are still supported during incidents or crisis involving inmates. Some inmates will also allow themselves to be in the perilous position of aligning themselves with officers, offering 'tips' and exchanging information for privileges.

The inmate culture is in a sense more simplistic than that of officers, it has more clearly defined rules, and is less affected by outside influences. Adhering to these rules may negatively affect the inmates relationship with officers or prison administration, but it is also easier for them to be inducted to and quickly learn their place within the social system. Inmate culture also lacks the dualism associated with the culture of officers.
Jones (2001) observed, when asked about the similarities between cultures, one of the officers in his study stated, "just as inmates have an unwritten rule that they do not 'rat' on each other, so do officers, our code and theirs is basically the same, for example, both officers and inmates see the sex offender on the lowest rung of the inmate hierarchy. Officers pick up jargon used by inmates, not the other way around".

The cultural differences may be influenced by the extra time inmates spend in the prison each day and the absence of the formal controls that would be experienced by officers who exist outside the prison. Jones (2001) identifies the characteristics of the subculture of officers, along with nine norms identified by the officers he interviewed in his study as being the 'worst thing you could do as an officer in your own eyes and in the eyes of other officers'.

The following table outlines the characteristics of these nine norms identified by Jones.

Characteristics	Norms
Ever present threat of physical danger	Always go to the aid of an officer in distress
Hostility of inmates, their families and the public	Do not bring in drugs
Unreasonable demands and expectations	Do not rat
Political attitudes toward their role	Never make another officer look bad in front of inmates
Tedious and unrewarding work environment	Always support an officer in a dispute with an inmate
Co dependency on other officers to work effectively and safely	Always support officer sanctions against inmates
The reality of being unable to act as expected (impaired independent decisions)	Do not show sympathy or identify with inmates
	Maintain officer solidarity against all outside groups
	Show positive concern for other officers

Exactly how these nine cultural norms reconcile themselves with the principles of case management, integrated offender management and throughcare is difficult to understand. This provides some insight into the daily dilemmas faced by individual officers as they attempt to fulfill the requirements of their role, and meet the

expectations of their colleagues and the organisation.

These beliefs and attitudes are conveyed informally among officers and are known by all who wish to preserve their membership in the group. It is present in all institutions but it does increase in strength as the classification goes up to maximum and reduces in intensity in medium and minimum.

The subculture assists the individual officer to cope with the reality that they cannot always expect to act the way they would choose to or the public might expect them to. It seeks to reduce the pressure that may impair the ability of the individual officer to make independent moral and practical decisions at work. Therefore the subculture has some extremely positive qualities, including mutual support and protection in crisis situations. This is essential to the well being of the officers and contributes to their ability to confidently walk through the gates at the beginning of their shift and feel safe at work. When people are exposed to external danger they show a remarkable increase in group solidarity. The willingness of colleagues to respond, support and provide backup in an emergency leads to a bonding that goes beyond the kind one might expect in most other workplaces.

Members of law enforcement would be familiar with this concept, camaraderie is experienced following a crisis that is essential to the emotional and psychological health of those involved. The importance of the need to debrief has been recognised by administrators, who have provided an external provider or Employee Assistance Program, for the purpose of maintaining the psychological and emotional health of staff.

Jones (2001) includes in his study comments from officers speaking about their own experiences of the subculture, some of these are as follows:
"Officer peer pressure is very strong, many of them socialise outside the prison and have few non-officer friends. Very few officers would go against that peer pressure. The subculture is something you don't talk about, custodial workers are the only ones you really trust".

"When you first start you tend to sympathise with the inmates, but after dealing with them on a daily basis, and you are treated badly, in a way you are almost happy if something does happen to them".

"The feeling of belonging to a group whose members understand the peculiar and difficult demands of the profession can be gratifying and comforting especially when the group or the profession feels under siege from the public. This is also accompanied by a recognition coming from one's peers being more valued than that coming from administrators".

"If you rat on another officer, they are put on the grease, you don't talk to them, you don't sit with them, and you treat them like outcasts".

"If you see a colleague doing something wrong, then that is his or her own business".
"So you either fit in or you don't fit in. If you don't fit in you are not going to last, it's the same in the criminal subculture".

"There is a price tag attached to honesty, so even though you may be right and the actions of a fellow officer may be wrong, it is better to be quiet than to speak up and risk becoming an outcast". Jones (2001)

This demonstrates the attitudinal norms of the subculture of officers and what it expects from members. It is also quite easy to identify more of the similarities with the inmate culture by providing a policy on how members are to maintain their place within the group. These comments express the virtues of the culture, by the need to belong to a group of likeminded individuals who are able to identify with each other. The idea that group solidarity and acceptance is of more import than recognition from outside the group demonstrates the power the subculture has over its members.

Jones (2001) further observes that if officers feel they are misunderstood, and their work is too difficult, too dangerous and nobody loves them, they band together and hide themselves behind the culture by not talking about it. Many facets of the culture requires identified enemies for is continuing existence, that is, the criminal element,

management, administrators and the public.

The observations in this study supports the idea that the core belief of officers interviewed believe they are alone in their plight, and can only rely on each other because unless one has been an officer, they cannot possibly understand how difficult the role is. The culture promotes the notion of 'them and us', by alienating officers from administrators and the public, and as such is a great stumbling block for reformists.

As members, the ability of individual officers to maintain the balance between the culture and their new human service role has become compromised. The culture is not conducive to reform or collaboration with other services and encourages its members to estrange themselves from these concepts. Pogrebin (2003) asked 20 custodial officers open ended questions about their work world. He concluded that most officers identified the purpose of the prison as being for security and containment, not rehabilitation. Officers also referred to the prison as a contradictory environment, and again portrayed themselves as forgotten people in a hostile social system made up of politicians, the public, prison administrators and inmates.

Officers observe that such problems are most serious when supervisory officers are more lenient than the officers they supervise. They believe their relationship with administrators is filled with tensions and distrust because administrators do not respect them. This results in officers relying instead on their own judgments and methods and retreating into the safety of their sub culture. Pogrebin (2003)

Ethical Dilemmas

The potential for the personal integrity of an officer to be in question is without doubt one which every officer fears the most. It is relatively easy to become targeted by inmates as a 'person of interest' for trafficking contraband or turning a blind eye to illegal activities within the prison. Inmates become very skilled at 'grooming' officers and will identify the smallest weakness, which may be as simple as an inconsistency, allowing something that is usually not allowable.

If the officer refuses to continue, threats will follow of disclosure to senior officers and even threats to the officer's family. Literature provides some explanation for officers becoming compromised through inmate manipulation. The relationship and its dynamics have changed and officers need to develop their interpersonal skills to enable them to managed aspects of the relationship they were previously able to keep at arms length.

Stockholm Syndrome

The Stockholm Syndrome refers to the phenomena whereby hostages find their emotional loyalties shifting from their rescuers to the hostage takers as their period of confinement increases. Gilmartin (2006) believes that it would be naive to assume that the Stockholm Syndrome does not potentially take place between inmates and officers, all who have been confined in a limited area for a long time.

This offers some explanation of the acts of corruption committed by officers, and the minor rule infractions that lead to them. This bending of the rules or use of discretion may be the initial indication that acts of omission are proceeding to acts of commission. The previous anonymity that existed between officers and inmates has been replaced by a relationship that is necessary for successful case management. Gilmartin (2006) also states that "a correctional manager must consider that corrections officers also have needs. The needs unmet by the traditional support systems will be met at the work place, either by competent management, peer camaraderie or by manipulation of inmates". While the inmates may not become the officers peer group, they can quickly become his or her reference group for many of the day to day events that impact on both their lives.

Officer/Inmate Relationships

This new relationship with inmates allows emotional transference between both parties to take place. This transference actually decreases the likelihood an inmate will strike out and assault an unknown officer. Now unlike in the past, the officer is a person with a history of behavioral interaction with the inmate. The individual officer's management style has developed a track record of interaction with the inmates. This officer is a real person to the inmates, not an unknown symbol of authority. As a result many of the

manipulative behaviour patterns of inmates have disappeared, and they have become 'a real person' to the officer. If two previously antagonistic groups are placed in a close proximity and are required to accomplish a similar task cooperatively the previously held differential roles and antagonism breaks down. (Gilmartin, 2006)

In this environment competent management practices are vital to prevent officers from feeling alienated, unsupported and left out in the cold, which will inevitably result in the officer identifying with the inmates. The transference of emotional loyalties to the hostage takers discussed by Gilmartin (2006) occurs as the period of confinement increases. A gradual slackening of the rules would begin as the interpersonal level of comfort between officer and inmate grew. These would not be perceived by the officer as rule violations but rather as attempts to use management strategies to keep things running smoothly.

The Stockholm Syndrome has accounted for loyal and competent officers actively conspiring to engage in escape attempts. In the twelve cases studied by Gilmartin, each officer had a satisfactory to outstanding career prior to the acts of compromise which resulted in termination and in some cases criminal prosecution. Individuals who tended to over identify with their job, were quite popular with their fellow officers, but all tended to be uninvolved in a meaningful emotional relationships in their private lives. The only married officer to the group was experiencing severe marital disruption. In each case the officers were able to function adequately until assigned a position in the facility which required a close proximity daily to either a single inmate or a small specific group of inmates.

This attitude represents a form of cognitive dissonance where the officer felt the inmate was different from other inmates and rigid stereotyping broke down in favour of preferential treatment. The common denominator in each case was that there had been a personal crisis in the officer's life immediately prior to the time of compromise.
Keeping in mind the effects case management has had on the relationship between officers and inmates, administrators must continue to develop strategies that promote the idea that 'we can be friendly but we are not their friends'.

It is extremely difficult for officers to keep a check on this relationship, as it develops naturally throughout the course of the daily routines within the prison, over the coming months and years. Unlike other professional workers, officers interact with inmates daily, virtually living with them while on shift. Others can spend years working with the same inmates and in the case of 'lifers' even whole careers.

Administrators are aware of this and develop strategies to support officers in maintaining these anomalous relationships in an appropriate way. Such strategies may include the manner in which inmates address officers, for example disallowing the use of Christian names. To do so denotes a familiarity between individuals that may be unwelcome in this context. Other strategies such as officers taking meal breaks away from the wing allows them to separate the social interaction of sharing a meal, in a more appropriate setting with other officers in the mess. This also gives the officer some relief away from the wing, into their own space unoccupied by inmates, which assists them in separating their two worlds and maintains their relationships with other officers.

Bensimon (2007) quotes, Mbanzoulou (2000) Herzog-Evans (1998) Silberman (1995) and Syr (1992), "correctional officers are the only staff members to be exposed to inmates on a continuous basis, according to standards governed by the rule of law and in a strictly regimented setting although a number of circumstances in their daily life cannot be confined to simple rules. Moreover, many situations in a closed environment give rise to incidents that cannot be reported systematically".

The society within the prison is not a democracy, but a dictatorship, and the dictators must be the custodial officers. Inmates will try to upset this balance, some individual inmates unintentially so, which will not go unnoticed or un- exploited by the rest. It is important that officers maintain the upper hand and to do this they must never be in debt to an inmate. This could take the form of a favour done for the officer that has not been negotiated properly that is, it has been done without the negotiation of prior reward or exchange, leaving the transaction one sided in favour of the inmate. Because the action has been committed in favour of the officer, he or she is now in debt to the inmate.

These debts can start off very small and increase in importance as the officer begins to feel more comfortable allowing the inmate to take greater liberties and responsibilities. This will inevitably be noticed by other officers, who will either ignore it, or allow it to cause distention and gossip particularly if the officer involved is of more senior rank. Very little of what one does, says or thinks about inmates escapes the notice of other officers, their 'grapevine' is well established and thriving, and it make take only a look exchanged with an inmate to bring oneself to the notice of others.

Any time spent in conversation with an inmate that cannot be overheard, arouses suspicion and exposes officers to accusations of an inappropriate nature about their relationships with inmates. It can be very difficult in maximum security to engage in case management especially for a female officer. As Richards et al (1999) observes, traditionally interaction and conversation between officers and inmates was discouraged and there were minimal support services in place for officers or inmates, a mix of motivations has led to a move away from that style of offender management over the last 10 to 15 years. The safety of minimal contact has gone, instead officers must learn to manage their interactions with inmates which highlights the extraordinary demands on the individual officer. The self discipline and constant personal and collective decision making over what may initially appear to be the most insignificant of actions, places an enormous amount of pressure on officers. It is also very easy to find oneself 'out in the cold', and alienated.

The architecture of the particular prison also has a great effect on this issue, the absence of bars, in accordance with the new human service style of prison management, opens officers up to exploitations far more easily. This in combination with the removal or dilution of their traditional role exposes officers to what may easily be perceived by them as the unworkable and unachievable goals of administrators.

One of the officers in Pogrebin's (2003) study states, "Older inmates know what prison life is all about they know you are just doing your job and don't want any hassles, you never have any problems with them". The younger ones cause more problems because they don't buy the rules of the enforcers. Inmates have become quite aware of the

changes sweeping the prison system, and how they affect them. While older inmates, like older officers, prefer the security of 'them and us' and the certainty of the old ways of doing things, younger inmates do not. Any disparity that exists between professional and custodial staff will not go unnoticed by inmates, who are adept at manipulating situations to suit themselves. Alienating a worker or an officer from their colleagues, is as lucrative now as ever.

Although they recognise the authority of the custodians, the inmates do not feel bound by a moral duty to obey. The total power of the officers is defective, but penal harm remains extensive. Fleisher emphasizes how seasoned officers resolve conflict by negotiation rather than hiding behind the formal discipline system. Guards are told to follow policy but this is an admonition to avoid arbitrary violence rather than to slavishly follow prison rules. Administrators sometimes say that the inmates are really in control of the prison, 'we just steer them' said one. Western (2006)

The level of classification of a prison dictates the method of maintaining discipline adopted by custodial managers. Maximum security prisons have emergency response teams visible to inmates as a deterrent for violent behaviour or unrest. These officers train constantly, and are skilled in the use of weapons and other methods of maintaining order. Other strategies include classification, the segregation of troublesome inmates, case management, contracts and inmate delegates. Officers also have the authority to charge or sanction inmates for various prison offences, which carry penalties, like the removal of certain privileges, lock in, or a change in classification.

The dangers of over sanctioning inmates are clear. It can be a counter productive practice as it leaves inmates with 'nothing to loose' and no incentive to improve their behaviour. It is easier for them to wait for the end of their sentence than put any effort into improving their behaviour in prison. This situation nourishes the already known reality that people leave prison 'worse' than when they went in. Managing these inmates is challenging for officers who find themselves a target for their frustrations by torrents of violence and abuse.

The behaviour of inmates exhibiting challenging behaviour has been known to improve dramatically if they are placed on a contract which provides incentives to engage in more pro social behaviour.

Western's (2006) study supports the idea that the inmates dictate the severity of their management by their behaviour. Programs such as violence prevention or anger management are particularly beneficial in prison. Prison provides the perfect forum for practicing their new skills, and there may also be rewards for improved behaviour that may not be available in the community.

The inmate hierarchy can be useful to officers as they identify the 'heavies' who rule in the yards and negotiate with them mutually beneficial solutions to controlling the behaviour of an inmate or group of inmates.

Hazardous Work

There is no simple way of understanding what makes a prison tick, prisoners adapt not just to the fact of imprisonment but also, in varying degrees to the particular prison they are in. This is not only an inmate problem, staff also have difficulty in adjusting to the prison regimen. There are some remarkable parallels between staff and inmates, for example, both substantially complain about working conditions and the attitudes of both staff and inmates crystallise around core elements in each group. Carney (1980)

The description of prison as being an artificial environment is true for officers and inmates. Officers spend a large portion of their lives in the prison and this causes parallels to the extent that their issues with the conditions within the prison are similar. Their changing relationship also has the potential to improve discipline, especially for those officers who have the skills to solve conflict by negotiation instead of formal sanctions. Morgan (1994) argues that "the quality of life in prison depends largely on the nature of the relationship between prisoners and prison officers".

Inmate behaviour is responsible for exposing officers to risk of assault, physical injury or exposure to infection. Officers assigned to units housing inmates with behavioral problems, mental health issues, or hospital or therapeutic units are most vulnerable. This requires officers to deal with the more challenging behaviour exhibited by inmates, and exposes them to physical and psychological harm. An integral part of this complex relationship is the fact that both feel under threat from the other.

Challenging Behaviours

The behaviours exhibited by inmates in prison has the potential to harm officers and others, not only physically but also through the high risk activities they engage in, including fights, rape, assaults and tattooing with dirty equipment. In response officers perform cell and body searches, administer first aid and cleanup blood spills and other body fluids.

Communicable diseases such as aids, hepatitis A, B and C are all of concern to inmates, custodial and non custodial staff. If the potential for transmission within the prison is left unchecked it is likely to cause an explosion of the epidemic with the community. For example, normally heterosexual men, engaging in unprotected sexual practices within the prison, are released into the community at the end of their sentence and resume or establish relationships with wives or partners. This creates a bridge for both peri natal and heterosexual transmission to occur. (O'Toole, 2002)

These behaviours are primarily the inmates response to the extremeness and indignities associated with being incarcerated. Individuals cope with this situation in their own way. It may include rebellion and refusal to conform, compliance, an attempt to be the model inmate, or they may become introverted and self absorbed. There is also the nagging, annoying inmate and the loud abusive, violent inmate. As Hampton (1994) states, "being an inmate is not merely to be imprisoned but to be interfered with at every level of existence". An individual who is formidable and assertive on the 'outside' will respond in a different way to someone who is introverted and compliant in nature. Any 'attitude' or negative response to the extraordinary and invasive routines of

prison life will be responded to by custodial officers as a lack of cooperation or non-compliance and punished.

The discipline and routines of the prison contribute to its efficiency and officers are trained to make sure this remains the priority. A number of prison offences will effectively block any advancement through the classification system to the desired minimum level, and may result in a perpetrator of a non-violent or victimless crime classified maximum security, for the bulk of their stay. This situation would challenge the mental health of any individual.

Upon first entering the prison new officers are confronted by those duties that are rarely spoken about in literature and consist of the daily routines of observing and supervising individuals who are incarcerated in a confined space. Most cells are very small and most commonly contain two bunks with a foam mattress, shelves, a toilet and a sink. There is no privacy between cell mates. During their daily routines, officers hear, see, smell and experiencing all those elements associated with people who are locked up in a confined space. Personal privacy does not exist, and inmates in maximum security are watched by officers, either physically or by camera. No element of the physical self is private, a state that is confronting for new officers and first time inmates alike.

All are aware of the necessity for inmates to observe personal hygiene and each prison has its own standards and policies to address this. Offenders are usually identified by other inmates and officers are expected to intervene and attend to these complaints. Some of these behaviours are very hazardous to officers and there is no length inmates will not go to in order to respond to their disempowerment, often resorting to the only control they have left, that of their own bodies. Activities such as conserving their own waste for use as weapons against others or for painting their bodies, exposes officers and other inmates to infections such as Hepatitis C, either by direct exposure or while cleaning up. Inmates who do not want to be moved or go on escort will also resort to this behaviour to repel officers when they arrive to collect them. Lucas (1999) observes that about one third of adult male prisoners in New South Wales prisons may be infected with hepatitis B or C.

General duties such as urinalysis testing, body searching and attending medical or hospital appointments are intrusive and embarrassing for inmates and officers. Same sex officers are not always available to perform these duties, especially in smaller jurisdictions. The ability of inmates to conceal contraband on or in the body has been so creative that body searches have become very thorough. These processes attack the person of the inmate sometimes causing them to weep with humiliation.

Suicide and Self Harm

Due to excessive deaths in custody during the 1990's new policies in prisons and training, to educate and alert officers to the warning signs of an inmate contemplating suicide, have been introduced. Despite these strategies, suicides still occur on occasion. If a suicide does occur, the officer will discover the body, cut it down or otherwise move it, and perform CPR. This is required under the department's 'duty of care policy', which states that all attempts must be made to conserve life, and as officers are not doctors, they are not qualified to declare a person deceased. Attempts to revive the inmate must be continued until medical staff arrive.

Following the discovery and handover the officer is required to write a concise and detailed report, as the matter will be investigated both internally and externally to ensure the correct procedures were followed. The officer will then be required to attend Coroners Court and in the meantime, deal personally with the trauma of discovering someone who has committed suicide. Officers in this situation are given counseling through the Employee Assistance Program, available in most jurisdictions.

As in the community self harm occurs in the prison for a number of reasons, officers are trained to manage the practical side of this issue, including initial first aid prior to the arrival of medical staff, and the Occupational Health and Safety procedures for cleaning up blood spills or other fluids. The reason self harm occurs in prison was studied by Dear (1999), he interviewed 82 inmates who had participated in 98 separate self harm incidents. As a result of his findings he identified four main motives for self harming in prison. Relief from psychological distress accounted for 40% of the incidents and escape from ones circumstances for 32%, which often included high suicidal intent.

To get someone to listen to me, or take me seriously accounted for 13%, and to force a change in circumstances, 13%. of the inmates. For the 44 inmates who reported an internal prison event as the main factor, the specific situations were categorised as, conflicts with other prisoners, (22.2%) which usually involved being 'stood over' or bullied. Conflict with staff (16.7%) whereby inmates perceived staff as unfair, inconsistent or incompetent. Inmates unhappy with their placement (19.4%) and regime restrictions (13.9%). Inmates who identified a routine aspect of the prison setting that were perceived to be stressful (27.8%).

Risk reduction strategies were also identified by Dear (1999) in two categories as follows:

Reduce psychological vulnerability by providing:

- assistance in coping with the transition into prison
- assistance with legal and justice system processes
- adequate mental health services
- support and teach inmates adequate coping skills

Address environmental factors by:

- reducing or eliminating situational factors associated with self harm
- reducing or eliminating conflict among prisoners, including bullying and stand over
- reducing or eliminate conflict with staff
- improving quality and quantity of interactions between prisoners and officers
- appropriately classifying inmates
- improving prison routines

Some of these strategies work equally well as suicide reduction strategies, particularly for inmates serving long sentences or life. Officers receive some training to assist them in identifying the warning signs of an inmate contemplating suicide, along with some theoretical knowledge on suicide and self harm and their relationship with each other. They also receive training on the departmental procedures to be followed by the first responding officer. This officer would also rely heavily on the availability of other

officers to debrief, and may include the use of 'black humour' a common coping mechanism used by officers to manage the more distressing aspects of their work.

Forensic Mental Health

The quality of the treatment inmates suffering mental illness receive will largely depend on which jurisdiction they are in and in which prison. The prison experience itself puts inmates at risk of mental illness, as Cohen and Taylor (1972) observe in their search into the psychological aspect of incarceration. They compare the inmate with explorers, space travellers and round the world yachtsmen, linking the special environmental conditions of particular intensity or monotony. The skills inmates develop to cope with this environment are not provided by rehabilitation or therapy but by the coping or survival culture that exists within the prison. It is generally accepted that anxiety or depression is associated with the act of incarceration itself, and the inmates own experiences within the facility. Anxiety can also be experienced pre-release, for inmates who have spent a significant period of time incarcerated.

Lucas (1999) describes the prison as a 'health hazard' stating some prisoners 'suffer distressing and disabling psychiatric problems as a result of environmental and vulnerability factors'. Imprisonment itself presents hazards to life and health which may test healthy and well integrated new arrival. The most prominent of these is the targeting of those who are more vulnerable, either due to their age, health, size or sexual orientation. Inmates who are 'stood over' in this way are more at risk of developing mental health issues associated with incarceration.

Acknowledging the link between successful treatment and the support of staff including officers Lees, et al (2002) regards the policies, regulations and general complexities of the prison as promoting the 'them and us' attitude existing between custodial officers and therapists. Individuals providing treatment to an inmate cannot possibly expect this treatment to be successful if they do not administer it in a cooperative manner. Promoting this attitude between staff, reinforces the same belief to inmates, how they can be motivated into changing their core beliefs if staff cannot model that concept to them by cooperatively working within the prison.

Forcing officers to work in units or prisons accommodating inmates with mental health issues is also detrimental to their treatment.

Officers should be assessed on their abilities to supervise mentally ill offenders, including their psychological suitability and proven experience in working with forensic patients or at the very least is able to provide evidence of their ability to contribute to a caring and supportive environment.

Riots

Problems with prison routines, and the basic practicalities of a large number of people living, working and eating together, carry with them the potential for dissention. Small details become very important to inmates denied their freedom of movement and expression. They will complain bitterly about issues surrounding the basic necessities, particularly food, property and basic living conditions. Dismissing these complaints as trivial and ignoring them has resulted in riots, sieges and major disturbances.

An example of this is the following account by Evans (2004), in Tasmania, "On 11 January 1999, the Mercury reported two weeks of violence, attempted escapes, brawls, and large scale vandalism at Risdon. It began on 26 December with a food fight - knives and forks were thrown, two hundred and seventy windows smashed, and Bibles and blankets were burned. In other incidents, four inmates got drunk and cut off parts of their ears and a female officer was attacked by an inmate serving a sentence for a sex offences. In early January a raid at the prison found knives, blades and drug taking equipment. On the 19th January, one hundred inmates held a peaceful sit-in in the yards, where they stayed all night, allegedly because of cold toast. These disturbances and escapes culminated in a 'seven hour rampage' on 26 May at Risdon Prison.

More recently, in 2005, inmates took an officer hostage in the reception area of Risdon Prison, finally returning to their cells after a quantity of pizzas were delivered to them.

Prison riots occur for a variety of reasons, and signify the loss of custodial control over inmates. Special response groups train for these events, and officers working in the wings or units of the prisons are expected to 'gear up' and support them.

Rynee (2006) identifies five conditions leading to riots in prisons:

- New and increased demands on prison administrators from external sources without any increase in resources
- Internal pressures from correctional staff leading to dissension and alienation
- Internal pressures from prisoners about conditions
- Riotous prisoner ideologies imbue the population justifying the disturbance
- Internal actions by prison administrators in response to external demands are seen as unjust

In addition to prisoner discontent about conditions for example, food, accommodation, temperature, property or possessions and access to services, Rynee (2006) discusses the administration and institutional breakdown that can occur in external senior levels and transfer to internal prison operations. This he says causes an institutional drift away from the negotiated balance between prisoners and officers/management.
The acknowledgement of the sometimes tenuous negotiated peace between officers and inmates in some prisons or units can be directly related to case management and how it changes the relationships within the prison.

Rynee's (2006) observation that riots may take place to 'test' new prisons, and that it is difficult if not impossible to transfer one prisons culture to another, suggests the environment has an impact on the cultural norms of the inmates. For example, external pressures that limit smoking areas, affect inmates who consider this activity to be one of the only pleasures they have. Restrictions occur with less available smoking areas and inmates become anxious and stressed waiting for their next cigarette. Upsetting the balance between deprivation and privileges can lead to dissention and riotous behaviour among inmates.

A riot at the Goulburn Correctional Centre, New South Wales, in 2005, resulted in several officers being injured, one seriously. The NSW Department of Corrective Services provided a coordinated response which included visits to the centre by peer support officers, information sessions for families of staff, support sessions, a family

picnic day and recognition ceremonies for those who acted bravely during the incident. This was a strategy by the department to support and increase feelings of confidence in the organisation. A staff survey conducted after the riot confirmed that officers need to feel a basic sense of trust in the integrity and goodwill of the organisation they serve. Most officers reported confident and effective leadership in this situation was of primary importance.

Collaboration

The concepts working in unison within the prison of efficient service delivery and containment and control will inevitably carry with them daily conflicts. Potentially the short term and long-term goals of professional workers and inmates can be disrupted on a daily basis by custodial staff, either intentionally or unintentionally as they perform their duties.

Cavadino et al (2002) discusses the introduction of professional staff due to the rehabilitative ideal that was sweeping prisons during the post war period and identifies a growing resentment by custodial officers towards professional staff including welfare staff, probation officers, educational workers and prison psychologists. He regards these professional personnel as being resented due to their qualifications entitling them to better pay and conditions, but also because they were considered to be usurping the a role to which the custodial offices aspired.

A study is cited in the same work about a survey conducted at a Scottish prison where officers expressed more concern with their relationships with professional workers than they did with prisoners. The resentment expressed by custodial officers stems from the feeling that they are undervalued for the necessary and increasingly dangerous work they do. This feeling by officers of being held in low esteem by others is mentioned increasingly in literature, implying that inmates are the only group who do not make them feel devalued.

Professional Staff

Community based corrections and custodial based corrections in many jurisdictions have traditionally operated along different lines and have developed different systems and cultures. These differing cultures can form a barrier to the successful implementation of throughcare. (Quigley and Mayes, 2005)

While it is true that community and custodial corrections have different cultures and systems, they also possess some similarities and it is these that should be exploited for the purposes of implementing throughcare or any other reform. Both work with offenders, are case managers, supervisors, refer to other services, liaise with families and have similar goals, namely a reduction in recidivism. It is not unreasonable to expect these two groups, as Quigley and Mayes (2005) state "communicate with each other, share information and look at things from each others perspective".

White (2007) quotes "how custodial staff and professional staff relate to each other, how outside agencies work with correctional officials and the quantity and quality of resources within the prison environment will have a major impact on the prison experience". This supports the idea that the quality of the relationship between officers and professional staff impacts on inmates who are the receivers of services and the group most advantaged by reforms in the prison. Staff must model pro-social and professional behaviour to inmates if they expect the quality of their interventions to remain at a high standard. Calvadino (2002) has suggested that this relationship is strained due to two factors, the perception by officers that professional staff receive better pay and conditions and the idea that they are somehow undermining their role. If this were the case, it is not unreasonable for officers to feel this way. In consideration of the aspects of the officers role and the high expectations that accompany it, a group of professionals or service providers entering their workplace with the attitude Calvadino describes, will promote friction and resentment.

Carney (1980) supports this view stating "custodial staff are suspicious of treatment staff and treatment staff often assumes that it represents the only element of professionalism in the prison". My observations are that this is an accurate depiction of the situation that exists between these two groups. As a general rule professional workers do tend to align themselves with inmates either for the purposes of establishing a rapport with them or because they themselves feel that the philosophies of the prison are inconsistent with their desired outcomes.

The worker may gain the confidence of the inmate, but it may alienate him from the officers, who will label the worker, 'a care bear' or 'crim lover'. Professional workers see a very different side of the inmate to that which officers are privy to. It is a source of amusement among officers, that inmates are such good 'actors' when in the presence of their welfare or probation officers. Clearly officers see the worst side of the individual while they vent their frustrations and fight for their position in the yards, conversely professional workers see another side to the individual, which is sometimes the acting manipulating inmate, however to assume that these are the only two aspects of an individual is naïve. The life of an individual is multifaceted, they are parent's partner's siblings, children, employees and students, with different experiences and ideals. In this case they are also an offender or an inmate, this is one facet of a complex individual and often accompanies learned behaviour through which professional intervention can effect change. Professional workers and officers would do well to discuss inmate issues with each other instead of disregarding information offered or failing to seek it out. Collaboration in this manner will improve relationships between officers and professional workers, and potentially achieve positive outcomes in the area of rehabilitation and reintegration of inmates back into the community.

Progressive probation officers can see the value of the sharing of information with officers in relation to the inmates they supervise. The behaviour of an inmate in custody is relevant to his predicted behaviour in the community, if he or she continually breaches prison rules, stands over other inmates or behaves violently, there is no reason why this behaviour would cease in the community.

It is clearly behaviour that needs to be addressed and is entirely relevant the future case management of the offender. The process of providing information to the court for the purpose of sentencing, recommendations or case management plans, is essentially an investigation. By speaking to the officers who know the inmate, this investigation would be far more thorough and complete, than if gathered from other sources alone.

In the current climate in Tasmania, it is virtually impossible to confirm this information with other professionals or workers. There is no access to custodial case officers, and no linkage between services, including Community Corrections, Forensic Mental Health and Drug and Alcohol within the prison itself. This lack of collaboration is frustrating for workers, and it can only be hoped that this is soon to change as Tasmania continues to develop in the areas of Integrated Offender Management, throughcare and reintegration. It is unlikely that the relationship between professional staff and custodial officers will improve in Tasmania, or any jurisdiction that continues to foster a climate of non- cooperation and fail to embrace the principles of throughcare in their daily practice.

Administrators

In Pogrebin's (2003) study, officers stated that they were treated by administrators as insignificant, incompetent and expendable parts of the organisation. They also complained that the rules and regulations changed so rapidly that neither they nor the inmates know what is expected of them. One officer explained "Inmates want and need consistent rules, how can we expect them to follow them if they are constantly changing". Another stated, "you do what you think is right and you disregard anything the administration says. You are the one who is doing the job, and you do anything that you think will make your job more effective and easy in the long run".

The participants in Pogrebins study identified these as fairly recent developments and a result of changing prison policies that have expanded prisoner's rights and reduced officer's discretion, particularly the right to discipline. They also complain of low social standing, and state that they are treated as insignificant, largely incompetent, and expendable.

Officers believe administrators orientations towards them are as scapegoats, and they protect themselves by passing the blame onto officers. It is clear that officers see their role as less important in the eyes of administrators than their professional colleagues. The relationships between officers themselves are not without complications, those who strictly enforce the rules face inmate complaints because other officers do not enforce them. *'The inmates know there is no real punishment and they flaunt it in our faces'.* (Pogrebin, 2003)

Administrators orientations towards them is of great importance to officers, they stated in Pogrebins study that they were used as scapegoats, as the blame for system failures is passed on to them. Officers also observed that these were recent developments, accompanying changing prison policies. Conversely, Coyle (2001) states, "If staff followed the guidelines set down they would be supported by senior management and there would not be a culture of blame if things went wrong occasionally as the inevitably do in a human situation" The culture of blame is the officer's belief of the inevitable blaming that occurs for failed reforms or policies within the prison.

As previously discussed, by Jones (2001) officer culture also requires identified enemies for is continuing existence. Administrators can considerably weaken the culture within the prison by removing themselves as the enemy and developing their personal relationship with officers. This is a difficult and time consuming task for administrators and will expose them to direct and indirect criticism. Again aligning themselves with officers may also alienate them from their own management.

Coyle (2001) states, a new prison presents an opportunity to create a new tradition which can be positive and progressive. In the Grennock Prison study senior management were seen to be constantly out and about around the prison seeing and being seen by staff and inmates. A small number of staff found this too difficult preferring the certainties of 'them and us'. The majority of officers were in support of this strategy, which theoretically would have given them the opportunity to form a relationship with administrators and advantage both groups. However the influence of those staff not in agreement should not be underestimated, as their cynicism is

supported by the culture.

Prison Programs

As mentioned previously custodial officers are generally supportive of programs, admittedly in some prisons where there are various classifications of protection or segregation inmates moving around the prison, practicalities such as escorting inmates to and from programs can be problematic. This will cause issues for some officers, but these are often outweighed by the advantages. Programs can be very difficult in the prison setting, participants move from safe therapeutic groups where self disclosure and openness are encouraged, back to the wing, where life is ruled by suspicion and guardedness. As a result these opposing states can be challenging for facilitators as they endeavor to engage their group. Learning how to switch between these contradictory settings can be challenging for participants.

Carney (1980) recognises the need for qualified and capable professional staff to carry out the correctional mission and to sustain the treatment philosophy. People who are unqualified and unenthused can sabotage a program. Recognising the need for the 'right people', and finding them, is often easier said than done, especially in small jurisdictions like Tasmania.

Program facilitation is a challenging role in the community, in prison, it would be compounded by the difficulties mentioned above. It is essential to acquire the cooperation of custodial officers, and to do this the worker must possess an awareness of the role of officers and be prepared to put in the work necessary to encourage collaborative practice.

Throughcare

Throughcare is described by O'Toole (2002) as not an entity which can be developed in and of itself but at way of looking at the entire operations of the department. It includes rethinking classification, prison industries, the role of inmate development staff, custodial officers, and probation and parole officers. Throughcare is the direction that all contemporary prison jurisdictions should be heading, and its success demands

collaboration between all staff and services within the prison. For throughcare to be successful Quigley and Mayes (2005) observe, "people working in the throughcare continuum must adopt a mindset which allows them to be constantly aware of the whole context within which the work needs to be done and not just their own particular section of it. The best structure and all the systems in the world will not help if people can't or won't get on board".

It is a fair assessment that much needs to be achieved before a jurisdiction can entertain the concept of the 'seamless flow' that describes throughcare. Firstly the services need to be in place and be staffed by individuals who will promote the philosophies of throughcare. They need to be aware of each others roles, and respect them, understand their place in the 'big picture' and promote a spirit of cooperation. Staff need to believe in throughcare to make it work and actively participate in establishing relationships with other workers, custodial officers and services. To promote this outcome New South Wales induct their inmate service staff with custodial officers, by including them in the first three weeks of training. These staff are part of the group, and no uniforms are provided to recruits until the three weeks are over. This is intended to promote some solidarity between departmental staff, regardless of their role. This is a concept that would work well in a smaller jurisdiction as New South Wales sends individuals all over the state leaving it less likely that the members of this original group will actually meet up in the workplace. Nevertheless it a progressive step towards dispelling the 'them and us' attitude by integrating staff together in this manner.

Recommendations and Conclusion

It has been established by literature that positive and productive relationships between workers is necessary for the successful implementation of services. Currently the relationships between workers continue to be strained, and strategies to foster more productive working relationship are clearly needed. Introducing reforms and new practices into the environment of prison officers will be impossible without them on board. It is also unhelpful to blame the state of the relationship between professional and custodial staff squarely at the feet of the officers. Strategies to improve this

relationship include educating all staff on the roles and objectives of other areas of corrections. Secondments to these other areas will improve the officer's knowledge base and develop within them, a broader social justice outlook. O'Toole (2000) summarises this as follows:

> *"In order for their innovations to be carried out successfully there must be an enlightened and highly skilled workforce. Continuous and meaningful training and career development are the foundations of a flexible, adaptable system which can respond effectively to these innovations shifting the emphasis from containment and control of prisoners in the 1970's to a more humane and interventionist system of case management and rehabilitation in the years ahead".*

In Tasmania further education should also be encouraged in areas such as forensic mental health, drug and alcohol, cultural awareness and managing female inmates. Recruit training needs to be more balanced and include lengthier sessions on the modules necessary for officers to become successful therapeutic agents, and case managers. They should include modules on integrity, ethics, interpersonal relationships and human dynamics. Current custodial officer training is insufficient extending over only eight weeks in some states. Officers should not be automatically considered suitable for case management duties if they were recruited prior to the assessment and screening subsequently added to the recruitment process.

It is not enough to train officers, if they do not possess the personality, characteristics or core beliefs necessary to become successful case officers, then they are unsuitable for this aspect of the work. Rostering new officers at the women's prison will help them develop an awareness of issues facing women who have been incarcerated. This will assist in fostering relationships with inmates that present them as people, deserving of services and their help. Secondments to offender services, programs or education, will also assist officers to develop a more holistic approach to their work, ideally these should occur out of uniform. New officers should also not be introduced to the prison environment until the completion of their training, and only then in a supernumerary capacity. This ensures the contact they have until this time, are with other officers who

promote the goals and desired outcomes of the department.

Higher educational requirements are desirable but not always practical in small jurisdictions where the availability of applicants is lower. Professionalisation of the role is continuing in some states and is to be encouraged, to increase officers from semi skilled to a professional workforce more in line with their new duties. The changing role of officers continues to attract applicants with this orientation. Those attracted to the traditional role, are seeking employment in a job that no longer exists.

It is essential that administrators continue to remain active in developing strategies to manage the changing relationship between officer and inmates. As discussed the potential for both groups to become 'over familiar' has introduced an increased risk of corruption. This behaviour threatens the safety of officers, other staff, inmates and the community and is a practice that has been experienced in all jurisdictions.

Professional staff should be inducted prior to entering the prison for the first time, by officers who are trained to do this, thereby reducing their risk to security and providing them with a familiarity of the practices within the prison and their responsibilities as workers. This will assist in removing the perception currently held by officers that they are a security risk and have no training in the routines of the prison.

Custodial officers are an untapped resource, particularly in Tasmania, as case officers they are not made available to professional staff. Without this contact there is no opportunity for interpersonal relationships to develop, and no groundwork laid for working together in the future. The prison will continue to evolve as it has in other states, towards the throughcare philosophy, a process that will take much longer if this situation continues. Officers have a complex role, this has been established, and it is up to all workers within the prison to develop their relationships based on an understanding of each others roles, and desired outcomes, which should be a reduction in crime and a safer community.

Further research could include interviews with officers, in Tasmania, particularly in relation to the new prison and the introduction of case management.

Officer's observations into the changes in their work practices and how they see themselves within the prison would be useful information for administrators. Finally, it has been established that officers have a physically and mentally demanding role that is constantly changing. They are particularly sensitive, to it being devalued by others who they see as having little understanding of what they do. We have seen that much of their time is spent doing boring or mundane tasks, however, they are required to be constantly on alert even during these times. The culture under which officers work also makes demands on them, from the decisions they make, to their relationships with others. The culture may contradict their own core beliefs and ethics. Custodial training is also inadequate in many jurisdictions, leaving officers without the skills necessary to meet the expectations of the organisation and the community.

All correctional workers are responsible for developing constructive working relationships within the justice system, neglecting this will make them ineffective workers who are simply 'going through the motions' and wasting time and resources. We know there are some who will not collaborate as they prefer the old 'them and us' ideology, and are clinging on to the remnants of an authoritarian officious job that no longer exists. These workers are slowly becoming obsolete, and through cultural change we will gradually leave the 'dark ages' of prison management behind.

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